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Selections.

HENRY WARD BEECHER AT HOME.

[An immense audience assembled at the Academy of Music, Brooklyn, on Thursday evening, Nov. 19, to welcome and hear the Rev. HENRY WARD BEECHER. The meeting was under the auspices of the War Fund Committee, and the entire proceeds were devoted to the Sanitary Commission. Rev. Dr. Storrs made an eloquent address of welcome to Mr. Beecher, after which his appearance was greeted with enthusiastic applause. The following report of his speech was taken by Beecher spoke as follows:]

MR. BEECHER'S ADDRESS.

I will not attempt to disguise the deep feeling with which your generous kindness, expressed in the words of my brother, affects me. I am more touched and more stirred by this welcome than I can tell you. I have been told by all that I have experienced in the whole of my travels abroad; and I speak the simple truth, which has the witness in your hearts, that it is here in this city, more than any where else, that I desire to be, and am greeted. For I am often in England, it was my pride to be an American, so when I am in America, it is my pride to be a citizen of Brooklyn; and I accept your generous confidence, and the kindness of your looks in it, as it relates to me personally, with profound sensibility and with deep gratitude. I thank you; and yet I should be vain if I supposed that this was meant for me in my individual capacity. I am one half of the effect of American institutions; I am made by them, and if I have done any service to the public worthy of your regard, I owe to this very public, and the institutions which enrich it, the power to do it; and I am glad that it is so—so deep is my feelings of patriotism, so profoundly am I impressed with the grandeur of this latest and ripest development of evil life, that I am more than willing to be sunk entirely in the general and cheap estimate which would ascribe anything to the glory of my country. I would fain be as the oil in the lamp that gives its life, that the light may be bright which consumes it. And that which is applauded in your presence to-night, I am glad that you asked me to be present; and I am proud that it shall go abroad from me when I come to England, having witnessed as I could in Europe for the truth of our cause, the first place to greet me was my own home, where I am best known. It is, indeed, a wreath which I shall wear none the less proudly for the fact that it is given to me, as you know, simply as a private citizen. It was tauntingly asked, on my arrival in England, why, in the very height and paroxysm of our national agony, I abandoned the field to go and lecture? I have been asked, in the midst of the disappointment which followed the defeat of the Autumn and Winter, which required the best powers of every man, without any ill strength to spare, I could do nothing in the Summer, I took that opportunity, upon the generous invitation of my own people, to go abroad and rest, that I might come back to labor more assiduously; and I can truly say that the sympathy of my own dear people was a comfort to me everywhere, and that in Great Britain—not because I disesteemed their kindness or undervalued their hospitality, but because it was something that I cherished with a secret pride—I refused to receive their hospitality or, in the remotest degree, compensation in any form. I said to them, my own people sent me abroad, and it is their pleasure that I shall be maintained by their support, and I will not take one penny from the hand of an Englishman (applause). You will not misunderstand me; it was not because I disdained their kindness, but because I valued yours. It was also said that I had come abroad with my health impaired. That would have spoiled it all. I had no official character, and would not have had one. I went simply as a private citizen, and I was there merely and only as an American citizen. And my reception both and, indeed, I may say my feelings, if not against my judgment, I entered upon the labor of the past

weeks of my sojourn in England, I assumed the responsibility, I cannot say with trembling, for I am not accustomed much to tremble; but I assumed the responsibility with the gravest sense of what it was. I have felt the inspiration of nationality often, but I never before was placed between two such great people, where I saw them both in perspective, both in their present relations and in their future. I never before felt so much as I felt all the time, waking or dreaming, night or day, what it was to stand and plead for the unity of these two great nations, for the sympathy between England and America, for once an excitement to me and a support. But, after all, I did not know how my countrymen would regard my efforts. If you had disapproved, I should have been sorry that you disapproved; but not sorry for what I had done. I did the best I knew how to do, every time, everywhere disinterestedly, for the love I bear to the cause and to the principles which underlie it, and I had no word, could not have, from home whether my countrymen approved or not. The fact, and of history, and of the tendencies of things, would accord with yours, or whether I should not be caught up in the whirl of conflicting parties, my reasonings transcend the arguments and the rules by which I attempted for the public good have the seal of their approbation. It is my purpose not to trespass any further upon your time in matters that are personal to myself. I know that you will not think me vain for what I have said, and I desire now this evening to speak upon that which you all have come to hear—namely, my impressions and experiences in respect to the condition of things in Great Britain, as they relate to this struggle and this country. Among the wise things said by that wisest of modern political writers, De Tocqueville, is this: "That it is impossible to judge of the affairs of one country by applying to them the experiences and the rules of another one." There are many reasons why one would have presumed beforehand that it was easy to understand British feeling and British policy. There was a similarity of institutions and a sameness of radical principles; but that very similarity, since it begets, by different institutions and different vehicles, different policies in the end, is liable to deceive us, and we are liable to come to many conclusions, because, upon the face, things look like those to which we are accustomed at home. I presumed that, for if I had judged of the condition of England from the impressions produced upon me by my first four weeks tarry there in the Summer, I should have judged very erroneously. I say it by my present convictions. Nor do I feel myself now adequate to analyze or state either the causes or the results of my feelings; I am quite aware that I am imperfect in my views in many respects. Nor can I presume to say that I present you opinions. My nature gives intensity to my expressions, and yet I wish before I hand, to ask you to consider that the statements that I make are impressions liable to mistake, subject to corrections that may afterwards be made in them. And with these preliminary remarks I will tell you what I saw and found. You are aware that the original sympathy of our people was almost universal in Great Britain; that they did find a sympathizer, ready and prepared. One thing we cannot deny, and that was, that if all the other nations stood aloof, there was one that would stand by us in the hour of our peril, and that was Great Britain. And the sharpness of our retaliatory complaints was stimulated by that very disappointment of a very confident conviction. When I was asked in Great Britain why the American press so severely inveighed against England, and was almost silent in respect to France, I said: "Because we in our deepest hearts care for England, and not much for France" (applause). "Because under anger, and lower down than prejudice, when you strike the deeper feelings, the Americans know that they have an English origin, and they are proud of their history—when it gets back further than the present generation (laughter); and it was this growing affection and sympathy in the last twenty years in the best parts of the best natures—it was this that made the disappointment of public expectation so sharp and so hard to be borne when Great Britain foiled our expectations and gave no sympathy. We never asked for help. We never asked that she should lend us anything or stretch out so much as the little finger of her right hand. We did ask simply her generous confidence and generous moral sympathy, and it was all, and that we did not get, and we felt sharply the conduct of England. The expression of public feeling had an effect of throwing her moral weight against the North and for the South." So I told them. That was the plain statement before my attention and the result. What men intend has much to do with judging of their moral character; but what men do does not depend always on their intention. And I said that the British people had disclaimed sympathy with the South, or a disposition to go against their own principles as represented by the North. I said to them: "What your intentions are you can best judge, but what the effect of your actions is on the other side can best judge, and we know that the moral influence of Great Britain has substantially gone for more than two years to help the rebellion of the slavocracy of the South, and to hinder the efforts of the free States to stand before the attention and the result. What men intend has much to do with judging of their moral character; but what men do does not depend always on their intention. And I said that the British people had disclaimed sympathy with the South, or a disposition to go against their own principles as represented by the North. I said to them," What your intentions are you can best judge, but what the effect of your actions is on the other side can best judge, and we know that the moral influence of Great Britain has substantially gone for more than two years to help the rebellion of the slavocracy of the South, and to hinder the efforts of the free States to stand before the world. And if there is reason or relief—if there is redemption finally, Great Britain must stand aside, and it must be said: "The nation that boasted of her free institutions and of her sympathy with freedom, in the hour of the common people has had no part nor lot in the great work" (applause). The denial of moral sympathy in Great Britain was accompanied by the active exertions of certain parts of the British people on behalf of the Southern cause. And of this we will scarcely be denied by any man, that if the shipyards, and founderies, and looms, and shops of Great Britain had refused their succor to rebellion, the rebellion would have died out in twenty days. It was such that, but for you, the rebellion would have perished almost in the beginning of it (applause). And no man but knows that there was also in England an extraordinary spectacle of men who, from the regions of caste, looked upon judgment and mistake were left to foment it. There were was a misposition more signal than that of the British public, as represented in their leading intelligent classes, in this struggle. Whatever may be said of the middle and the upper classes, went so unquestionably in favor of slavery at the samo time that they occupied themselves in the intensest denunciations of slavery—that went against the sympathies of the people abroad and of the similarly praising free society and arrogating to themselves its highest claims and honors. Under such circumstances we were, you recollect, drifting right toward war. I told the British people that I was not afraid of war, since, after all, war is not so cruel as it was, there was something in this struggle so near to us, and so indispensable to national life, that rather than that there should be interference, rather than there should be a recognition of independence by your government, that this republican free government should fall, we would stand war with Great Britain, with France, with Europe (applause). It would have been difficult to say this without the appearance of threat; but I said it without any such thing, and by the iterated and reiterated charges brought against me of having been bellicose in my own country, and of having threatened all manner of desolation in my speeches (laughing) and writings, that I felt a part, and full part in proportion, of the deep indignation which my own people felt against Great Britain, and that I had never desired war, but abhorred it, but that I held that a great principle was at issue, and that I would stand by it, and indeed, I spoke my feelings, if not against my judgment, I entered upon the labor of the past

I now do and shall. Neither on my first return from the Continent in September could I have understood and felt what I understand now, in some measure, and entirely believe that they were right, and that, after all, the great heart of the British nation is with us of the North (great applause).

Let me take up, then, one part of society after another, and state, as I understand them to be the facts. First, there is the great commercial class of England, those that are making money and those that have made it; if you please, call them the plutocracy. They are against us. In the first place we are in a large class of men that are actively employed in supplying the South with all its necessaries—except ammunition (laughter), and that same thing, I suppose that they are making large fortunes. We cannot doubt which side they take. The next is a very large class of men who, for precisely an opposite reason, somehow are opposed to the North and in favor of the South; namely, those who have been accustomed to make money, but found this interrupting war had stopped their profits; and men that want to make money, but do not; they are opposed to us. And between these two classes is an intermediate one of men who are bewildered and perplexed, and see that business is more or less affected, as it is over the whole continent, by its sympathies and actions with this cotton question; they say, "Is all this war end? And as the offensive is on the North side, they feel as though whenever the North

is the main they are against us. It may be boiled down to this: that while there are very noble exceptions here and there all through England—men that stand out of their class above and against it—speaking comprehensively, the commercial class of England is here against the North in favor of the South. I have spoken of the religious people. It is very difficult for me to analyze the causes that have turned both the established churchmen and the dissenters into respect to their moral sympathies with us. I do not think so in respect to the laymen; but the influential laymen and the influential clergymen, I think, are adverse to us as a body. The ground usually taken is this: that the war is a great sin. And so it undoubtedly, that the war is a great sin. And no where else, in this world, is there so tender a conscience on the subject of war as in Great Britain—when she is not waging it herself (great applause). We had, I believe, only two days in which we could march through the streets of London, Liverpool, Manchester where it is, it is somewhere; and the rest of her leisure she occupies with a profound regret and horror for this American war. I do not think that you would be very ready to go to war with us; if it was for the territory of a remote island in the Antarctic Ocean, she was ready to go to war with the savages; if it was but to beat down the cities of Japan, and she had no objection to batter down the 10,000 inhabitants in it; but when a people are making war for their own life, for everything that dignifies humanity, they stand wondering at God's patience with men that make war (laughter). And I can say that I have had from the friends, who have always maintained and given their countrymen a consistent testimony against war, those men who were most querulous against our war were men who had no particular sympathy with the slavery of the cotton war, and wars if not already on the hands, at least on the tips of their fingers. I told them to their faces, in Exeter Hall, there was not a land on the face of the earth, since the Dutch fought, that had not dashed their bloody prows, and that their flag was a symbol of their history—a cross inscribed on a field of blood (great applause). The English nobility, as a class, are also against us. I shall speak some more, and more at length, of this. But these exceptions do not alter the general statement that the nobility as a class are against us. For the most obvious reason we are not accustomed to estimate the effect of our social institutions upon our political institutions. When he takes his walk abroad, it is not the elephant that weighs and measures his own gravity as he treads on the field-mouse's tail. It is the mouse that meditates (laughter). A gigantic nation as this is, on account of its wealth, while we are treading on the steps of accomplishing his ruin, we are not feeling the jar that we ourselves are making; but they that have thrones and aristocracy—privileges do; and they are the best interpreters of the reactionary influence of American ideas and American institutions. And it was the *Saturday Review*, which, I believe, only took the position of the great mass of the British people, and the government will unquestionably maintain for the future that policy which they now stand upon (applause). Then there is a growing enlightened class in our favor also, [here applause] in the realm. There are more public men, more public lecturers and more public meetings influencing opinion in our favor than ever before. And when men say to you that they doubt this English feeling in favor of the North, I say to them—that the English Parliament, as it is now known to be adverse to the North, does not vote against the North because it does not know that a few hundred public meetings that have been held in Great Britain not more than twelve or fifteen of them carried resolutions against the North—that out of eight or ten public meetings that have been held there has not been one that has been carried against the North. And that at the great meeting which it was my privilege to attend there (laughter), the vote was five to one in favor of the North. And no sooner was that known, than the contested would have given one an expectation of a very different result, but when it came to vote, there was but one in five against us, and the men who were there for peace and quietness were four out of five for us. I held in my hand a letter from Richard Cobden (tremendous applause). He says: "You will carry back an intimate acquaintance with a state of feeling in this country among what, for a better name, I call the middle class, which cause is bound up in the prosperity of the States—the United States. It is true that they have not a particle of power in the direct form of a vote, but when millions in this country are led by the religious middle class they can prevent the government from pursuing a policy hostile to their sympathies" (tremendous applause.)

Under these circumstances, I think you will agree with me that we may consider the great middle laboring class of England is on the side of the North, and the upper class, as they are also in favor of the South. I put no immoderate estimate on my services. I believe I did some good wherever I spoke (applause). But it should be remembered that a single man, a stranger in the community, was not listened to, and could not be supposed that he had done all the good that had been accomplished. There must have been preparation. He merely came to touch the train that had already been laid. When, in October, you go to the trees and see a jar, and the fruit coming down all around you, it is not you that ripens it! A whole Summer has been doing that. You merely brought down the fruit prepared. It was the fruit coming to be there to get it. Now, I say, the fruit is ripening. It is supported by many of my friends that I shall form an unwarrantable estimate of my work there, but my accustomed modesty will stand by me yet (applause). I saw in a letter in the New York *Times* of yesterday a friendly hand from England writes: "The sympathy of England was never stronger for the South, her hatred never so bitter for the North. If Mr. Beecher thinks otherwise, he has been deceived by the crowd of abolition partisans gathered about him." And then of abolition partisans gathered about him." And then he makes some personal allusions, which I won't read. "I cannot now remember," he says, "the name of one distinguished and really influential person he has won to our friends on the other side." He was surrounded by distinguished ministers, and members of the Emancipation Society." Pretty nearly so. "The nobility, the clergy, and the established Church, and members of parliament, were waiting." Yes, they were. Brougham, Wilberforce, Buxton [illegible] Lord Brougham, Wilberforce, Buxton [illegible] Lord Brougham, Wilberforce, and the great names identified with the Anti-Slavery cause in England were opposed to him, as they are opposed to the cause he advocated. They will find that there were no Broughams, no Wilberforces, and no Buxtons in the audiences that I addressed, and the reason was that there are not any such men in England (applause and laughter). The speech has died by the way; but shoulder to shoulder, heart to heart, hearing and forbearing with each other, loving, or hoping to love by and by, let them stand the union of Christian civilization and human liberty (great and long-continued applause).

Among the members of the Government known to be favorable to the Federal cause are the following: The Duke of Argyle (who married a daughter of the Duchess of Sutherland), Lord Granville, Right Hon. Thos. Pelham Villiers, Mr. Milner Gibson, Mr. A. Stansfeld, Mr. Chas. Gibson. Members of Parliament: Messrs. John Bright (cheers), I told him it would be just so—Sir Morton Gibson (cheers); you know your friend Lewis; W. E. Forster, less known, but just as firm and sturdy a friend; E. A. Leatham, Guildford Onslow, James White, P. A. Taylor, E. Backhouse, Samuel Morley, Thomas Bayley, E. Baines, Thomas Carnes, W. E. Baxter, James Caird, Samuel Gurney, George Hanfield, Gray Duff, James Kershaw, Wilfred Lawson. Among the newspapers and magazines favorable are the following: *The Morning Star*—the organ of the advanced liberal party—managing proprietor and editor Mr. Samuel Lucas; *The Daily News*, managing proprietor Mr. Thomas Walker, a paper which, if a man want to take *The Times*, without its venom and wickedness, he can take. It is just as able as *The Times* and a thousand times more principled. The evening editions of the above journals are respectively named *The Evening Star* and *The Evening News*, a queer name! *The Spectator*, edited by Mr. Hutton—one of the ablest and most influential of the weeklies and distinguished by its calm and philosophical tone; *Lloyd's Weekly News*, edited by Blanchard Jerrold, its opponent in the Sunday field, by the great hebdomidal organ of the working classes; *The Beehive*, organ of the Trades Unions, the *Non-Conformist*, the organ of the Dissenters; *The Nonconformist*, Dr. Campbell, Congregationalist; *The Freeman*, Baptist; *Macmillan's Magazine*, edited by Prof. Masson, of Cambridge; *The Daily Press*, *The Morning Star*, *The Morning Star: The Evening Star*, *The Morning News*, *The Nonconformist*, *The Freeman*, *The Beehive*, *The Reader*, one of the principal literary journals. The most popular and widely circulated journals in both the metropolis and the provinces are of the Liberal cause. The aggregate circulation is at least a million each issue. Among the leading provincial papers may be mentioned the following: The Manchester *Examiner*, circulating through the manufacturing districts; the Newcastle *Chronicle*, Liverpool *Daily Post*, Birmingham *Daily Post*, Leeds *Mercury*, Preston *Guardian*, Dundee *Advertiser*, Aberdeen *Journal*, Glasgow *Daily Mail*, *Daily Whig*, Belfast; Carlisle *Examiner*, Kendall *Mercury*, the paper of Lake District; *Hampshire Independent*, Southampton; Bradford *Observer*, Bradford *Review*, Bradford *Times*, Bradford *Mercury*; *The Irishman*, an organ of the Meagher and O'Brien party in Ireland; and the Bucks *Advertiser*. Among men distinguished for science and literature who are favorable are Carlisle. Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; Lord Houghton, better known as Monckton Milnes, author and poet (applause); Sir Charles Lyell, the eminent geologist (applause); John Stuart Mill, the great writer on political economy of the present day (tremendous applause); Sir Stephen Lushington, Judge of the Admiralty Court, and one of the greatest lawyers of the country (applause); Goldwin and the slave trade (applause); Goldwin Smith, Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford (applause); Fawcett, Professor of Political Economy in Belfast University; Professor F. W. Newman, the eminent Professor of Latin and English Literature; Gen. Perronett Thompson, the founder of the *Westminster Review*, and its editor for many years, and author of the *Anti-Corn Law Catechism* (applause); Dr. Chapman, editor of *The Westminster Review*; Mr. Hepworth Dixon, author of *White Conquest*, and the most popular work in England next to *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (applause); Mr. Edward Miall, leader of the English Non-conformists; George Wilson, Chairman of the Anti-Slavery League; George Thompson, Secretary of the Emancipation Society; Prof. Beesly, Professor of Political Economy in University Hall; James Taylor, Jr., founder of the Young Men's Christian Association; Dr. Lees, eminent temperance lecturer; W. J. Fox, the late member for Oldham; Washington Wilks and Henry Vincent, well known as popular leaders or writers; Rt. Scott, the Blackheath poet; the Mayor of Manchester, the Mayor of Birmingham, Rochdale and Faversham. Clergymen and ministers are as follows: Dr. French, Dean of Westminster; Dr. Vaughan, Dr. Allon, Rev. Dr. Raleigh, Rev. Dr. Free Church in Scotland; Hon. and Rev. Baptist Noel; Rev. Newman Hall; Rev. Wm. Brock; Rev. Dr. Hailey, President of New College; Rev. Dr. Angus, President of Regent's Park College; Rev. Dr. John Campbell, Rev. Dr. Leonard Bacon, Rev. Dr. Bellows, Rev. Dr. Bacon, Rev. Dr. Anderson, of Glasgow; Rev. Dr. Campbell, of London; Rev. Dr. Hamilton, Rev. Dr. Ralston, Rev. Dr. Ranken, of Glasgow. These are only a few of thousands of names of men who are our friends, but they are better known, and are the signalized friendship by literary services in the cause of the North. The great body of citizens, whether upon the facts that I have stated, there is not reason to believe that after all we have had all manifestations of a kind and friendly character in England of friendliness and of fidelity to us and to our cause (applause). I will not attempt to represent the ground of the hope that I have, but I only wish now to add to this statement of facts respecting that country a few words why we should seek by all honorable means to maintain sympathetical and peaceful relations with England. The New York *Evangelist*—it is the world's battle that we are fighting. We are set to do the work, and the whole world is to get the benefit of our victories. We are struggling for the rights of the common people (applause)—and not of this country, but of the world (great applause). Therefore we ought not to ignore the common people of any nation, and still less of that nation from which we sprang, and whose language we still speak—I sometimes think with more purity than they themselves. And I say that the common people of England, that is struggling for intelligence and larger political rights—if that great under-class are on our side, for their sake we ought to be at peace with England, and not make the cause of offence. If those people who are our friends, let us be patient and reach out cordial hands of grasping for England—toward those who are their friends, and who have signalized their friendship through famine, and hunger, and sickness, and suffering, and stood without bettering their fidelity—for, to their honor, Lancashire and her starving operatives are fast and firm friends of the North (applause). We are laboring on this side for just those things for which the generous people of the North are laboring. They have just those same internal difficulties that we have. We have felt how we were checked by the power of self, by perverse prejudices of classes, by institutions established in this country or forming, and we have found that if we attempted to move even in the North we moved against a resistance that was almost as formidable as the battle that we have fought has been a moral battle, an intellectual battle at home, and they who are our friends experienced the same resistance. Let us have patience, let us have no consideration their difficulties, and not to be impatient for their hindrances and lets which make them fail to come up to the measure of wish we desire. Let us wait with the slow process. And, more than that, it seems to me that in patience, and generosity, and magnanimity, it behooves us to set an example to the common people of England of a better government, we think, than any other nation, and let us prove it by the fruit that it brings forth in the citizen.

It has pleased Lord Brougham—who is not, I think, any long-r responsible for what he says—to say that the American people are a mob. Let it be ours to show that an American people can be a decent one. Let us show that an democracy (tremendous applause). We are proud of our common schools; we are proud of the citizens they make. Let it not be pride and mere vanity on our part, but in all the attributes of fidelity to our convictions at home and patience with our enemies abroad, let us show to the world one more thing: that we will, with free institutions, a self-governing people with free institutions, a self-governing people with free institutions, a self-governing people